

Eötvös Loránd University Faculty of Humanities

BEDNÁRIK JÁNOS

Religion and local society in the second half of the 19th century

A historical-ethnographic research on some communities near Buda

SHORT THESIS

FOR THE DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Doctoral School of History

Head of the Doctoral School: Dr Erdődy Gábor DsC, professor

European Ethnology Doctoral Programme

Head of the Doctoral Programme: Dr Mohay Tamás CSc, professor

Members of the Examination Committee:

Head of the Committee: Dr Kósa László MHAS, professor emeritus

Reviewers: Dr habil. Fazekas István Ph.D., associate professor

Dr Lakatos Andor Ph.D., associate professor

Secretary: Dr habil. Deáky Zita Ph.D., associate professor

Members: Dr Frauhammer Krisztina Ph.D., research fellow

Dr Smid Mária Bernadett Ph.D., associate professor

Dr Mohay Tamás CSc, professor

Supervisor: Dr habil. Bárh Dániel PhD, associate professor

BUDAPEST

2018

I. Topic of dissertation

The important role of priests and clergymen working in village communities played in shaping culture and organizing society has been emphasized in many historical and ethnographic studies in Hungary, however, only a few attempts have been made to carry out a methodical research of this group of high importance. In this study, I tried to reveal the material, spiritual, institutional and personal aspects of the connection between the religious leader and the community led by them. I will research Roman Catholic villages inhabited by Germans near Buda and the priests who worked in them. The focus is on a deanery district and the career of a parish priest (Szobovits Alajos, Hidegkút, 1855–1886), which also defines the limits of the focus period of this study, certainly with an outlook to the years preceding and following the period given in the title.

Researchers can find a lot of unanswered questions concerning the lower ranked priests of the 19th century Hungary. Who were the village priests and how did they live? How did they receive their office, what prospects and what careers did they have? What was their relationship to the religious and secular hierarchies? What were their tasks and functions? What represented their authority and what problems did they have to cope with? What role did they play in the religious life of local communities and what was their opinion on the cultural and social practices connected to religion? What were the power relations and the separation lines in the particular communities? In general, what did religion and church mean in the life of village communities and what did village communities look like from a religious point of view? Furthermore, how can such frequently mentioned concepts as embourgeoisement, secularization and cultural struggle be observed in practice? How can political and religious conflicts appear at a local level?

I am trying to answer these questions by a research based on micro-level source analysis, but embedded in mezo- and macro level contexts. In my work, I mainly relied on the findings of Hungarian ethnography, religious and social history, but I also drew heavily on foreign – mainly German – literature in terms of the theoretical frameworks, parallels, and models.

II. The structure of the work

In Chapter I, after the introduction, I give an overview of the scientific and research history of the topic, then I will go on to describe the sources and methods that have been made use of. In Chapter II, the contexts concerning the researched period, region and topic are to be summarized. The description of the wider area of research (the area around Buda) is followed by an account of the leadership and hierarchy of the diocese and the general conditions of the low ranking priesthood and their problems. Chapter III is focused on the religious and patronage conditions in the closer area of research, the Buda deanery district of the Székesfehérvár diocese¹, and the low ranking priests of the district, then I intend to summarize the problems discussed so far in a

¹ 8–10 villages belonged to the district in the period researched here: Borosjenő (Weindorf), Kalász, Budakeszi (temporarily connected to elsewhere), Hidegkút, Nagykovácsi, Solymár, Piliscsaba, Üröm, Vörösvár (and Szentiván as its filia).

vertical cross-section – at a practical level – by analyzing a characteristic event, the change of the parish priest. In Chapter IV, the foundations of the relationship of the locally operating church and the framework of a pastor's work are discussed. Firstly, I intend to discuss the household of a parish priest, then the office holders working around the parish premises and the church, their intertwining tasks and the evolution of the various offices, which leads us to the problem of the relations between the political and the religious administrations. Afterwards, the parish priest's role is analysed from the aspects of cult and liturgy and finally, the economy of churches and parishes and the remuneration and existential standing of lower-ranking priests are discussed in detail.

The contextual information summed up in Chapters I–IV are synthesized in Chapter V, in which a case study on Parish priest Alajos Szobovits is described. After a long service at the court, Szobovits came to Hidegkút, a village near Buda, in 1855, where he served until his resignation in 1886. His career as a parish priest spanned more than thirty years, a lot of sources are at our disposal and these sources allow us to observe Szobovits's way of thinking, relationships, conditions, actions and reactions in many different situations. We can get a picture of the local society of a 19th-century village in Hungary (Hidegkút) that was typical with some unique features and the religious life of a popular site of pilgrimage (Máriaremete), from his particular (but not marginal) point of view. The thesis, which is centred around the case study, is finished with a summary of the conclusions in Chapter VI and an outline of possible further progress and the tasks to be done. It is followed by an appendix containing the notes, pictures, maps and sources.

III. Sources

The study is based upon the materials kept in the Archives of the Székesfehérvár Episcopate and Chapter. Among them, most of the material is made up of the documents of the parishes of the chosen deanery (*parochialia*) and the personal documents of the priests who served there (*personalia*). Besides them, I also drew on the annually published diocese schematisms (*schematismus*), the encyclical letters of the diocese and others (*litterae encyclicae*), and the answers given by parish priests to the preliminary queries (*puncta praeliminaria*) sent before the episcopal visitation round which was announced for 1868 (but only partly carried out). Furthermore, I have made use of the crown protocols (*protocolla coronarum*) of the deanery district researched, and in one case I managed to access the local records that can be found in the attic of the parish.

Apart from the manuscripts, in the second half of the 19th century, a number of press releases can be used as sources to cast light on the background of the issues researched by me. Owing to the ever-expanding digitized corpus, I could research the relevant writings much more effectively than earlier. I tried to widen the horizon of research by such contemporary works that

were written for practical use or for some scientific, political or regulatory purposes, but they comment some particular problems reflecting the practice. Connected to the researched area I also drew on some ethnographic works and local histories using them as sources, and during my work, several excellent lexicons and databases were at my disposal in connection with the various persons, institutions and concepts.

IV. Methodology

In my dissertation, I tried to follow a consequently applied *historical-ethnographic* method. It is a research profile that (1) relies on *the thematic traditions of Hungarian ethnography* (2) considers *praxis* or practice as its main field of research, (3) and *is characterized by a comprehensive, reflexive and transparent source criticism*.

(1) Village setting is the link to classic ethnographic knowledge. In today's scientific community, an affinity for 'folk', 'peasant' and 'lower' is still an important element of the disciplinary identity of an ethnographer. This 'ethnographic seal' plays a role in the communication towards fellow sciences and the interested outsiders, but it also has some further reaching content. There is a 'special ethnographic way of seeing things', which comes from the education of ethnography and the reading of literature during it, and it also comes from 'a double competence', which means that Hungarian ethnographers today move and research in contemporary fields and they also work with historical sources and therefore they (perhaps) look at the village communities of the past and their culture with keener eyes.

(2) Among the suggestions concerning the methodology of historical ethnography (*historische Ethnographie* at German ethnographic forums) I consider it the most applicable which considers the historical field as a *social field* like Bourdieu, trying to reveal the *relationships* and *interactions* of the *actors* moving in it and to understand the *relational logic* of cultural phenomena observable at a *practical* level. The method of historical ethnography is a combined analysis of *discourse* and *practice*. The researcher learns about directly inaccessible past *practices* embedded in some *discourse* or conversational situation from mediating (mainly written) sources. In the research, the discourse is partially and subjectively *interpreted* and finally *presented* according to the rules of academic writing. The result of this learning process at four epistemological levels is a text, in which the original goal of research, i. e. the level of practice is emphasized and in many cases, the cognitive process which is called source criticism is hardly noticeable.

(3) A comprehensive and transparent critical attitude towards sources and a consequently applied scientific self-reflection constitute important elements of the research profile of historical ethnography. A basic question of the ethnographic recovery of the past is how one tries to solve the problem of „not being there”, i. e. they cannot share the social and cultural reality of the actors one wants to know. As opposed to 'imaginative empathy', I consider

the deepest possible contextualization and a sensible description of the goal of research to be effective. I did not aim at a holistic grasp of past societies, groups and individuals or a reconstruction of cultural meanings, but (following Kaspar Maase's opinion) I 'only' intended to achieve a 'point-like correction' of the common interpretations of the given topic – in this case the 19th century priesthood, church, religious practices, village communities etc. – and among them my own preliminary interpretations and convictions.

V. Findings

V. 1. Lower ranking priests

The first group of my questions concerned the lower ranks of Roman Catholic priests as a well-defined vocational group. The Hidegkút parish priest, Alajos Szobovits's figure and other careers discovered during the research can be compared with the judgments by which writers of church history characterise the generations of priests educated in seminaries fostering Josephinist concepts (officer way of thinking, prioritising material welfare and career, the lack of pastoral diligence and belief). In the researched decades, there is no trace of the 'new style' priesthood, educated as a result of reforms in the diocese and seminar started by Fülöp Steiner. However, concerning the charge of officer way of thinking, it must be noted that priests did not volunteer to undertake so much administrative burden, but because due to its functional defects, the state had to resort to the help of clerical institutions even in the second half of the 19th century. In many cases, the parish priest had to confront with the people in issues they were not so much concerned with (such as when the lists of new recruits were compiled).

The review of the various levels of clerical leadership and the discourses of local conflicts (and the practices reflected by them) make it possible for us to gain insights into the background of hierarchical conditions. In the case study, it has been demonstrated how a parish priest could find his way between the episcopal orders, recommendations and reprimands and how the series of subsequent bishops responded to the misconduct of the parish priest. We have seen the importance of the functions of the deans in the clerical leadership and in the administration and in connection with the crowns (the assembly of the deanery district) the significant points of the contact network within the priesthood have been revealed.

In the diocese, there was a relative lack of priests in the second half of the century, and on top of that, the situation of chaplains and elderly clergymen was unsettled. The increase in the number of the Catholic population was not followed by the development of the network of parishes. All this resulted in the deformation of seemingly ideal priest careers in many cases: the number of years spent in 'starter status' (in a deanery or in service at the court) increased, and the elderly parish priests did not want or could not leave their remuneration. There were striking differences between the various parishes and the benefits connected to them (in terms of material remuneration, prestige, workload, working conditions and the legal safety of patrons). There was

a great struggle for the better places and in many cases, those wanting to progress were not able to get rid of positions with worse remunerations. In the system described in my thesis, where office holders were appointed by the bishop or the patron, there were numerous opportunities for lobbying and contacts were very important; all this strongly affected the inner relationship of the priesthood, and it explains the tension of low ranking priests who were stuck in their places. The priests who were pastors assessed the places of office in the diocese and the vacancies according to what they knew about them and their opportunities. Through these clerical ambitions that combine rational, emotional and situational elements, one can infer a common knowledge that enables to find our way among the material, pastoral, patronage and other conditions. Only a small part of this knowledge comes from the written sources that can be researched by us, most of it was gleaned through the formal and informal contact network that we rarely catch a glimpse of, which connected the lower clergy. Personal contacts made since the times in the seminar and the experiences gained at the various office places and parishes during one's career or on pilgrimages and collegial visits gave a mental map of the diocese to the applicants. Even according to the limited number of cases that have been researched, certain 'affinities' can already be seen (attracting centres, application from a place to a neighbouring one), and an analysis of the network relying on a bigger corpus could reveal further contacts.

V. 2. Priest and community

The second group of my questions focusses on the presence of the Roman Catholic Church in village communities. The researched sources provided clues to this complicated contact network through material issues, the questions of church management and clerical remuneration. Researching the sources from the time between the 1850s and the 1880s, I witnessed the uncertainty that accompanied the transition from feudalism to capitalism; my observations on this can be summed up in the following way.

Besides their other functions, the church and the parish were economic units too, which cultivated lands (or had them cultivated), leased lands, collected capital, provided and exacted loans. The parish priest who was granted a *beneficium* could use the clerical income that came from the patron and from the contribution of the community and the support of the religious people (gracious contributions). After 1848, mainly in the disputes about clerical politics following the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, this complicated practice was harder and harder to retain. To reform the office of syndicate that had already been in place for a long time, a 1859 decree (*instructio normativa*) aimed to achieve a bigger participation of secular parishioners by prescribing that curators (caretakers of the church) should be elected from among 'the people', for the lack of an independent organisation of the religious (local) community, this initiative came to nought in the villages researched by me. The curators did not mean real control, they had an authenticating function under the parish priest.

In the examples provided in this thesis, it can be seen that churches also functioned as local credit institutes; we can see the last decades when the church dealt with such activities. Credit provision activities carried out by the local parish priest and the curators did not work satisfactorily in spite of all the efforts made by the diocese and the state to take them under control. Besides not being transparent and the difficulties of administrative work (asking for pledges, execution etc.), it was the lack of capital that posed the biggest difficulties (in this respect, the big budget of the chapel in Máriaremete was an exception). The practice of local loaning based on religious denomination, which was inherited from feudalism, was replaced by the system of credit cooperatives, which were created slowly (in Pest County from 1886), and it put an end to the centuries-old practice of church loans. Many parish priests and other clergymen participated in the organisation of local credit cooperatives. This transition can be considered as a secularization process, which has to be further researched.

The problem of the self-government of the church is closely connected to material issues. In the purely Catholic villages researched by me, it was the magistrate of the village, which included the judge and the jury, that represented the congregation in the communication with the pastor. In the second half of the century, there was a growing tendency to form a church community completely independent of the political community. I found that it was motivated from outside by the discourses about Catholic autonomy started after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, the requirements of the laws on public schools (school courts), the need for transparency in the financial management of the church, and the legal regulation of local administration. This process was facilitated by the conception of dioceses accepted (but not announced) at the congress on autonomy in 1871, and the decrees of the episcopate and the bishop in 1869 and 1877. However, the change was really slow and stopped in many places. Where the Catholic school was not 'spared' from being transformed into a village/state/- operated common school (e. g. in Hidegkút), there they stopped urging to create Catholic school courts. Nevertheless, in some places, school courts became real self-governmental bodies of the Catholic parishioners (like in Solymár, Szentistván and Csépa). It requires further research to reveal the pace and form in which Catholic school and church councils were founded, across the whole country and to what extent they re-shaped the relationship of the local community and the church.

I also drew attention to the aforementioned outer motivations – mainly the law on public schools – in connection with the development of lay functions around the local churches. The separation of the positions of the notary, the cantor, and then that of the sacristan/ringer can be interpreted as the professionalization of these jobs. The transformation of Catholic schools into village/state public schools accelerated the separation of the function of the cantor and that of the teacher. We have seen what problems and conflicts could arise from this separation in connection with the contracts of the cantors and the school in Hidegkút. In these cases, one may come across

the word ‘culture struggle’ (“Kulturkampf”) in the contemporary sources already in the 1870s and the 1880s.

Similarly to the budget management of churches, the income structure of parish priests, which developed in the feudal ages, also seemed anachronistic. In the 19th century, they tried to upgrade the complicated system of tributes paid in money and in kind by introducing general contracts, but the access to the tribute was greatly subject to the willingness and the ability of the congregation and the parishioners to pay. The priests of poor villages did not receive their salary or they received it later, but in years with bad crops (e. g. at the time of the vine-pest) even the priests of well-paying villages felt the income shortage of the parishioners. In many cases, customary law, the personal relationship between the priest and the parishioners overrode written obligations, which could lead to conflicts when a new pastor arrived or the relationship of the priest and the congregation deteriorated. Apart from the difficulties, it is important to note that this direct financing meant the base of the ‘patriarchal relationship’ between the congregation and the pastor, this mutual dependence, from which the pastor hoped to gain job safety and the parishioners wanted to satisfy their need for sacred rites (‘sacral economy’). A salary paid from a central budget would have ended this mutual dependence with the community.

The relationship between a priest and a community can be approached from the aspects of foreignness, social and cultural distances. A priest has always been an ‘outsider’ to some extent in a village, only the distance varied. Whereas the studies concerning the early modern period show that low-rank priests were poorly educated and closer to the people, the authors researching the second half of the 19th century agree that the priests’ level of education became higher and at the same time, they grew apart from the culture of village communities. The case of the Budakeszi parish priest, Imre Bacsák, quoted frequently in this thesis, and to some extent, the case of Alajos Szobovits in Hidegkút provide good examples of this.

V. 3. Official and folk religiousness

The main function of the parish priest was to control the cult and to provide religious services in the village, his respect and authority was the result of this ‘religious basic competence’. In my thesis, I intended to describe the official religious practices, which were approved by the priest or in which they participated. I wanted to point out that even the so-called folk religious practices can only be interpreted in their connection to official religiousness and not in a system independent of the priests.

Ethnographic literature and the literature discussing the history of the church considered the local representatives of churches as impersonal representatives of an institution that can be replaced with one another. In my thesis, I tried to point out the limitations to this kind of exchanging persons. The participation in religious rites in the researched communities cannot be explained only by ‘the functional-institutional authority’ of the church (orders, punishments), but

it also came from an inner religious attitude in which the parish priest was an indispensable participant, but not an unquestionable authority.

An organic mixture of prescribed, tolerated and banned elements can be observed in the conflicts between Szobovits and the pilgrims. The parish priest had to face staid beliefs and customs that were hard to question, and the clerical authority did not lend him a monopoly for interpretation (e. g. in connection with the relation of the purgatory and the candlelight, or the Tóbiás blessing that was supposed to protect against all evil), but he was expected to confirm them with the support of the authority of the church. When the parish priest attacked these traditions that he considered superstitions too vehemently, he reached the limits of the respect shown to the robe and he found himself amidst conflicts.

The interactions between the regulations of the church and the inner religious needs of the believers can also be observed in the relationship of the parish priest 'with his own' flock and not just with the pilgrims. The vehemence of the conflicts in connection with the inauguration of women, the denial of Christenings or funerals reveals that it was not only about the regulations of the church but a much more elementary need. The ceremonies of the church constituted central elements in the transitional rites of human life, folk religious practices and beliefs (e. g. the prohibitions connected to the chastity of women) did not question that the ceremonies of the church were 'sine qua non', they even confirm them and integrated them into the community's norm. Paradoxically, it was exactly what restricted the possibilities of the priests as they used their power of carrying out or denying some ceremonies for reprimanding, punishment or taking revenge, they might have provoked the rage of those concerned or the community.

When there was a conflict between the priest and the community (for personal reasons or disputes over material issues) or for some other reason the priest became unfit for his tasks (due to illness, deafness, weak nerves), it meant for the community, not just a religious but also a basic social deficit. The seriousness of the conflicts with the parish priests lay in the lack of alternatives and the inevitable nature of the church. The frustration caused by this took shape in many forms. The parishioners could express their dissatisfaction by doing religious activities without a priest (for example they staged thanksgiving processions for the good crops), sometimes they individually or together penned their grievances sending letters of complaint to the clerical and secular authorities, expecting remedies for them. It was not a rare occurrence that the tension escalated to the physical offence.

V. 4. Denominations, secularization, embourgeoisement – local experiences

The opinions on the 'religiousnesses' of the second half of the 19th century seem to fit in the paradigm of secularization; the overwhelming majority of the authors specialized in this era observe that the importance of religion and churches declined in the society in these decades. It is contradicted by the concept which considers the 19th century as the age of 'second

confessionalization' (Olaf Blaschke), recognising the denominations as central elements that shaped the society and structured everyday life and emphasizing the tensions between the denominations. The analysis of the level of local practices in this thesis seems to show that the contrast between the two paradigms is not so sharp. In his letters, Szobovits's thoughts often set their course towards the sad decline of religious belief (the drying up of baptismal fonts and pious donations). However, in his views and rhetoric, his anti-protestant tendencies play a central role. He connects Protestantism with political liberalism, which reigned in the country, and with freemasonry and he assumes that this enemy camp that gathered against Catholicism stands behind each attack against him. He considers himself in this fight as a soldier in a border castle of the Catholic Church. It is especially strange as he worked in an almost exclusively homogeneous Roman Catholic area. Szobovits created a universal picture of the enemy, and he projected all the problems coming from the inside issues of the Catholic Church and his own personal problems onto the Protestants.

The religious attitude of 'little people' had an interesting status in this religiously more and more indifferent age which was made more polarized by the denominations. Many authors note that it was the village where religious practices and the bond to the church(es) remained stronger. However, with the weakening of Josephinist rigour, the generations of priests who were educated in Josephinist seminars only considered the revival of devotional practices (like religious processions) as more of a problem. Certainly, they did not want to lose the income coming from the popular pilgrimage sites (like Máriaremete), but at the same time, they had misgivings concerning the popular, paraliturgic traditions surrounding it, especially because these traditions – and the priests who directed the cults – were the target of the contemporary liberal speeches. Pastors faced an awkward task: on the one hand, they had to defend their own authority and that of the church, on the other hand, they could not attack too vehemently the 'superstitious' practices as they would have alienated their own followers – who constituted their personal and institutional mass basis – endangering their position as the leaders of the cult.

Apart from peasant religiousness, the signs of a bourgeois religiousness or a religiousness that was becoming bourgeois can be discovered. The church building project in Máriaremete, which was financed in a club form, was the first enterprise of its kind in the whole country. This construction, which was approved by the church but was independent of the structure of the church (and the local pastor), showed an alternative to the cumbersome financing of the patron or the non-transparent, inefficient financial management of the church.

One can consider it to be the action of the awakening bourgeois consciousness when someone was threatening with converting to another – Lutheran or Reformist – denomination (*apostasia fidei*). It seemed a real option for the parishioners who were dissatisfied with their priest to turn to another 'service provider' to satisfy their religious – and at the same time social – needs. Although this threat was rarely followed by action, this kind of rhetoric is indicative of the

fact that the connection and faithfulness of the parishioners to their denomination were not so deep and in such a sharp contrast to Protestantism as the world view of the parish priest in Hidegkút. From this point of view, Szobovits's rage against the Protestants seems to have been a desperate helplessness. For the Catholic priests who attended school in the first half of the 19th century, the mutuality of the religious denominations, the 'common school' and mixed marriages were all outrageous. However, the generation of Szobovits could not get over this outcry – apart from a few exceptions. The reform ideas had not yet broken through in Hungary, the new Catholic strategy, which started in the 1890s and could have helped a village pastor fight against his competition in the local society and its religious circle successfully, was not yet ready.

Publications on the topic

A budakeszi tumultus. In Bárh Dániel (szerk.): *Alsópapság, lokális társadalom és népi kultúra a 18–20. századi Magyarországon*. ELTE BTK Folklore Tanszék, Budapest, 2013. 223–255.

Miért és hogyan néprajz történeti kutatás? Újabb német javaslatok a „történeti terep” elméletéhez és módszertanához. *Ethno-Lore. A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Néprajzi Kutatóintézetének Évkönyve XXXIII.* (2016), 191–222.

Der Tumult von Budakeszi. Analyse eines lokalen Konflikts aus dem 19. Jahrhundert. In Prosser-Schell, Michael (Hg.): *Populäre religiöse Kultur, Konflikte und Selbstvergewisserung in multiethnischen und multikonfessionellen Einwanderungsgebieten. Ausgewählte neuere Forschungen und Dokumentationen mit einem Schwerpunkt auf dem Mittleren Donauraum.* (Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Volkskunde der Deutschen des östlichen Europa, Band 17) Waxmann, Münster – New York, 2016. 73–116.

Meghalt a plébános, éljen a plébános! Plébániai concursusok a 19. század második felében a budakörnyéki falvakban. In Glässer Norbert – Zima András – Nagyillés Anikó (szerk.): *„A királyhűség jól bevált útján...” Rendi és nemzeti kötődések szimbolikus változásai 1867 és 1918 között.* (Szegedi Vallási Néprajzi Könyvtár 54.; MTA-SZTE Vallási Kultúrakutató Csoport. A vallási kultúrakutatás könyvei 25.) MTA-SZTE Vallási Kultúrakutató Csoport; SZTE BTK Néprajzi és Kulturális Antropológiai Tanszék, Szeged, 2016. 217–231.

Wunder wider Willen. Eine vergessene Marienerscheinung im Ofner Bergland. *Deutscher Kalender – Jahrbuch der Ungarndeutschen* 2017 (megjelent 2016-ban), 239–243.

A nyáj mellett virrasztó pásztor. A Buda környéki falvak 1944–1945-ös történelmének egyházi és pasztorációs vonatkozásai. In Csikós Gábor – Kiss Réka – Ö. Kovács József (szerk.): *Váltóállítás. Diktatúrák a vidéki Magyarországon 1945-ben.* MTA BTK – NEB, Budapest, 2017. 495–530.

Pasterz pilnujący swojego stada. Kościelne i duszpasterskie aspekty sytuacji w wioskach w rejonie Budy w latach 1944–1945. In Rosenbaum, Sebastian – Węgrzyn, Dariusz: *Pod czerwoną gwiazdą. Aspekty sowieckiej obecności w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej w 1945 roku.* Katowice–Warszawa: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2017. 188–207.